THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 8, 1962 . . 25c

ECONOMICS OF DISARMAMENT

William S. Royce

Failure in Congress

The Leaderless Liberals

Gar Alperovitz and Kim Willenson

Fear in a Small Town

The Editor vs. the Sheriff

Gene Wirges

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LETTERS

Doctors and Ballots

Dear Sirs: I was amazed to read the purported account by Mark Gayn of the Medicare issue in Saskatchewan ["Doctors vs. the People," July 28]. From the outset, it is obvious that this man has not been in Saskatchewan at any time during the controversy. . . .

Mr. Gayn has forgotten to mention a few very significant happenings that are a matter of fact, not of opinion. For instance, in preparation for the Federal election of June 18 last, the New Democratic Party under its leader, Mr. T. C. Douglas, made the introduction of a compulsory, government-sponsored medical care plan a main plank in its platform. This was particularly stressed in Saskatchewan where the local provincial NDP government is fighting for its political life. When the election results were at hand on the night of June 18, every single NDP candidate in Saskatchewan had been soundly defeated, and one of those who sustained the biggest defeat of all was the aforementioned Mr. T. C. Douglas who managed to get barely more than half of the votes garnered by the Progressive Conservative winner. This despite the fact that an NDP slogan for the election was "A vote for the P.C.'s is a vote for the M.D.'s." Province-wide, the NDP obtained only 22 per cent of the popular vote (and 13.4 per cent throughout the whole country).

M. J. TWOHIG
Regina, Sask.

Dear Sirs: Nowhere in the article — datelined Toronto—did I indicate I was in Saskatchewan during the dispute. My story was based on a dozen long telephone conversations with key participants on both sides of the controversy, as well as on information gathered by *The Star's* own large team which covered the province as no other newspaper did.

Mr. Twohig's letter demonstrates it is possible to be on the scene and yet be confused. The Medical Care Plan was the main, if not the only, issue in the *provincial* election of June, 1960. In this election, the Socialists won 38 of 55 seats in the provincial legislature, and took this as a public endorsement of their Medicare proposal. As Mr. Twohig should know, when the *federal* election came around two years later, the Medicare bill had already been in the law books of the province for eight months, and wheat sale rather than Medicare was on the voters' minds. In this *federal* election, *as in the previous two* (in which Medicare was not an issue), the Conservatives emerged triumphant. Nationally, the Socialists improved their vote this year to nearly 14 per cent, from 10 per cent in the previous federal election in 1958.

MARK GAYN
Toronto

Marilyn Monroe

Dear Sirs: In his article on Marilyn Monroe [issue of August 25] Lincoln Kirstein states: "More than predictably, the filthiest footnote appeared in *Time's* anonymity. Recapping every detail which could exude a faintly pornographic whiff, its final diapason rolled: 'All the same she was a star; it hardly matters she never quite became an actress.' Get that *'quite.'*"

Except for the accurate quote of the concluding line, I would say that any resemblance between Mr. Kirstein's and the article is purely accidental. It seems to me that Mr. Kirstein owes Barry Farrell, who did the *Time* piece, an apology.

GEORGE BLUESTONE
New York City

Mr. Kirstein's reaction to Time's *obituary was clearly a matter of taste, or rather distaste, and he would therefore be unlikely to apologize for it. If an apology had been called for, he could scarcely owe it to an individual, in view of* Time's *policy of group journalism.*—EDITORS.

Yes and No

Dear Sirs: Lincoln Kirstein's article on Marilyn Monroe was excellent; but Senator Proxmire's ("Spendthrifts for Defense") was certainly in the wrong publication: he should have sent it to *The National Review.*

GUY CAPARELLI
New York City

What's the Use?

Dear Sirs: A group of psychiatrists, psychologists, writers and laymen have gotten together here in Los Angeles because of our interest in the emotional impact of the nuclear age and the cold war upon our children.

When our group was meeting, several child psychiatrists reported that they had heard many expressions of concern about children. One mother stated that she was driving her car with her two children and the children dropped to the floor when they heard a siren. Another mother reported that her seven-year-old boy refused to practice his piano lesson, saying, "What's the use? Next year we'll all be dead anyway." . . . A child accused his parents of not loving him, not caring for his safety, because they were not building a family fallout shelter.

The material which we are accumulating will be part of a public discussion held here in Los Angeles this fall. . . . The theme of this meeting will be: "What Shall We Tell Our Children?"

We would welcome any suggestions and we would be particularly happy to obtain more case material. All interested can write me at 4454 Clayton Avenue.

Los Angeles, Calif. DANIEL PANGER

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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

When Is a Law Not a Law?

The answer is when it involves an assault on a government tinged with communism. In that event the Department of Justice can be relied on to prove that no law has been violated or, if there was a purely technical violation, well, boys will be boys.

On August 24, at 11:30 in the evening, buildings on the shore line of Miramar, the Havana suburb, were shelled from the sea. The shells were small — 20mm — and the damage was slight. The principal effect was to give Fidel Castro a chance to bawl that the United States had launched another attack on Cuba and to mobilize and reinvigorate his militia. What had actually happened was obscure until the following day, when the Cuban Student Revolutionary Directorate, an exile organization of former Havana University students, issued a statement in Miami avowing that two ships manned by their members "bombarded the Chaplin Theatre on Miramar First Street while a meeting of Russians and Czechoslovaks recently arrived in Cuba was being held. Cannon shots destroyed the place where these foreigners that dare to invade our country were assembled."

Except that no meeting was being held, the Chaplin Theatre was not hit, and the foreigners were not invaders, this account was accurate. To fill in the details, three leaders of the Revolutionary Directorate announced that they had led the expedition, composed of twenty-three men. The three gave their names and had themselves photographed by the United Press. The ships were 36-foot motorboats based in Miami and the number of shells fired was said to be sixty, although other reports indicated that this was twice the actual number. There was no longer any doubt, however, that the boats had shot up the Havana shore front to the best of their ability, such as it was. The leaders of the expedition, moreover, had presented the government with all the evidence needed for an indictment under Title 18 of the United States Code, which declares it a crime to launch "a military expedition or enterprise" from the United States against a country with which the United States is not at war.

In Miami, the Coast Guard impounded the two boats. In Washington, the Justice Department began issuing statements through an anonymous spokesman, explaining, in effect, that the English language has become an unknown tongue, engraved on stone in hieroglyphics which scholars had been unable to decipher. First, asked the spokesman, who could be certain that the boats had not touched at some Caribbean island en route to Havana? Obviously, then, no military expedition or enterprise had been launched from the United States. Second, did shooting up the Havana waterfront with such light weapons as 20mm cannon constitute a military expedition or enterprise? Rather, it might be considered in the nature of a symbolic act, un-actionable under the law.

Finally, if any doubt remained, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had already dispelled it. He had personally ruled that the 1,000-man rebel landing in April, 1961, did not constitute a military expedition, consequently there had been *no prosecutions* under the Neutrality Act. Such prosecutions would indeed have been awkward, since the U.S. Government would have had to prosecute itself.

To make things absolutely clear, Attorney General Kennedy's opinion was cited verbatim. He told what the law allows and what it prohibits. "What the law does prohibit," he said, "is a group organized as a military expedition from departing from the United States to take action as a military force against a nation with whom the United States is at peace." Twenty-three men are not a group. Even a thousand may not be a group, much less a military force. Shooting does not make a military expedition, and departure from the United States depends on where the nonmilitary expedition goes. If the United States is on bad terms with the country to which the non-group innocently goes, we are not at peace with it, although we may not be at war either. The Department of Justice has made an unforgettable contribution to the epistemology of the law, and now all that remains is to restore the boats to their rightful owners.

Lucky Massachusetts!

Who won the first Ted Kennedy-Ed McCormack debate? One correspondent who went all the way from New York to Boston to be in the same hall with the young statesmen found it hard to say. Many who saw and heard a short but probably representative section

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of the debate on TV found the decision easy. Both boys lost.

Neither is unattractive, and if they were running for alderman, or trying out for a part in amateur theatricals, it would be a tossup. The trouble is they are running for the United States Senate. The average IQ of the Senate has never been determined, but it must be well above 100, since the job is a desirable one and it takes a certain amount of acumen, as well as money and backing, to get it. Unless Messrs. McCormack and Kennedy did themselves grave injustice, however, the election of either would appreciably lower the intelligence level of a body which has had so many august members and still has a few. The debate was held in the auditorium of the South Boston High School. There are plenty of high school debaters who acquit themselves better.

Since Ed is a South Boston alumnus, he had the gallery with him and he took full advantage of the fact. His principal indictment of Ted was that he had traveled in Europe, Latin America and Africa. And he had never worked for a living. And he was the President's brother. Ted, the more polite and impersonal of the two, refrained from retorting that Ed's uncle is Speaker of the House of Representatives which, judging by the way legislation has been going recently, is a position more important than the Presidency in any case.

Yet the Democrats of Massachusetts are fortunate. They can vote for Ed or Ted in the primaries, as they choose. Then, in November, they can vote for H. Stuart Hughes, an independent, who is not only a Harvard professor but a scholar, who is running on a rational and practical peace platform, and who in any single sentence he utters makes more sense than the Democratic contestants can muster between them in two hours of debate. The net result of their polemic, so far, is to make Hughes look even better than he looked before.

No Room for Bargaining

In its September 1 issue *America*, the Jesuit weekly, ran an editorial titled, "To Our Jewish Friends." It began: "Since June 25, date of the Supreme Court's decision on the Regent's prayer case, there have been disturbing hints of heightened anti-Semitic feeling." Full responsibility for taking the issue to court, the editorial went on, is not to be pinned on the Jewish community, since not only Jewish groups opposed the prayer, but also the American Civil Liberties Union, the Ethical Culture Society, Humanist organizations, some Unitarians, many atheists "and certain other groups with doctrinaire views on the meaning and application of the principle of separation of Church and State." And the Jews themselves, *America* conceded, are divided on the issue.

Nevertheless, the Jews are likely to receive the brunt of the blame, especially if efforts are made to follow up this judicial victory in other sensitive areas, such as birth control, Sunday-closing laws, censorship, child adoption, etc. "We wonder, therefore," *America* concluded, "whether it is not time for provident leaders of American Judaism to ask their more militant colleagues whether what is gained through the courts by such victories is worth the breakdown of community relations which will inevitably follow. What will have been accomplished if our Jewish friends win all the legal immunities they seek, but thereby paint themselves into a corner of social and cultural alienation?"

This does sound somewhat minatory, and somewhat patronizing, too. *America*, however, is a very intelligently edited paper, and its general tone is one of moderation and good will. Its audience is mainly one of Catholic intellectuals, lay and clerical, and it has never had any appeal for Christian Fronters and the like. The fact is, unfortunately, that the warning is probably well-founded. Nor is it fair to say, as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis said in a joint statement, that "in the guise of a kindly warning *America* is encouraging the very evil it claims to be trying to avert." There are Catholic — and Protestant — papers of which this might be truly said, but *America* is not one of them.

What is wrong with the stand *America* advocates is that it is cowardly and amoral. The magazine asks American Jews "what bargain they are willing to strike as one of the minorities in a pluralistic society." Many of them are willing to strike any bargain at all — all they want is to be accepted by the predominantly Christian community, or at least not to be disliked. But there are other Jews who will not purchase tolerance on these terms. As devoutly as *America*, and many Americans, believe in prayer in the public schools, other Americans believe the Constitution says it must be kept out, and they purpose to continue to use the courts to keep it out. And of course it is not a Jewish question at all. There are far more Protestants than Jews who hold these beliefs, and the beliefs themselves were first promulgated by non-Jews; there was probably not a single Jew among the framers of the Constitution or the Bill of Rights.

Jews are often contemned or hated for no reason except that they are Jews. They are the social victims of those in whom hatred is bred, and for whom a feeling of racial superiority is a necessity. If, in the controversy over a basic tenet of our political philosophy, the Jews incur obloquy, it will be in a good cause. And if our country is so precariously poised on the racial abyss, we might as well know it today as tomorrow.

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FAILURE IN CONGRESS

The Leaderless Liberals . . *Gar Alperovitz and Kim Willenson*

A LEADER of liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives shrugged his shoulders recently and said wistfully: "The 87th Congress is a dead issue as far as we're concerned. The only thing we can do is act like baseball fans—wait till next year."

From the liberal point of view, no more succinct assessment of the 87th Congress has been made. It has been a dismal failure. It has reverted to know-nothingism and do-nothingism. It has struck down nearly every significant program presented to it. Aid to education, farm subsidy reform, medical care for the aged, revision of drug controls—all have gone by the board. In truth, the only significant piece of legislation that did pass the House under the "liberal" title this session was the President's trade and tariff reform bill.

The tragedy of it is that none of this had to happen. There are 260 Democrats in the House, of whom 110 are Southern conservatives. Subtracting also a scattering of Representatives from the urban and rural North who are "old style" Democrats, there still remain 125 seats occupied by men who are liberal with respect to any legislation now pending or conceivable in the foreseeable future. If they had organized for power as the conservatives have been doing for years, if they had bargained from strength as well as voted from principle, there is more than an even chance that they would have been successful in passing at least some of the liberal legislation.

When the 87th met in 1961, the liberals were highly optimistic. Although they had lost about twenty seats in the 1960 elections, they had gained a new, young, dynamic President, who talked in terms of sweeping social reform and regaining the initiative in international affairs. Their new President, unfortunately, led them into a trap. For the liberals were over-willing—indeed, they were overjoyed—to "let Jack do it" when it came to guiding the country along the liberal path. And when it turned out that Jack couldn't, wouldn't, or didn't want to assume the leadership, the liberals were boxed in.

By refusing his option to take command, Mr. Kennedy not only relinquished leadership to the old men at the top of the Congressional ladder; he also made it almost impossible for the House liberals to lead him and his legislation out of the morass—even if they had wanted to. For some liberals, it was impossible to organize for leadership because of their election fears—they did not want to stick their necks out beyond JFK. But the bulk of the Congressional liberals did not lead because they are entrenched in a power system of their own. They do not step out of line because they are bent on pleasing the Congressional elite.

Hoping to climb the ladders of their Congressional committees, they curry favor with the leadership. For to be known as someone who is "with" the leadership means a chance to be assigned to major committees, and to be placed on exciting and important subcommittees. It means approval of pet projects from the "pork barrel." It means that a Representative's best bills will be given a hearing by those higher up the ladder of seniority; and that means they will have a chance of acceptance.

It is very difficult for today's liberal Representative to get away with openly criticizing the leadership or the President. He fears that being openly more liberal than the President will gain him a reputation for instability among his colleagues. He thinks he cannot criticize what are often weak-kneed or downright conservative Administration policies without acquiring a reputation as a fuzzy thinker or a "pink"; without being accused of damaging the party; and most important of all, without antagonizing the leadership.

That is, as an individual he can't. But as a member of a solid voting bloc as well organized and integrated as the conservative Southern Democrats or the Republicans, he could. If a liberal knew that he had the 125 votes of the Northern Democrats solidly behind him, he could afford to defy the leadership.

THE liberals sensed this in 1960 when Rep. William Colmer (D., Miss.) and four other Southerners defied the entire party by bolting the national ticket as members of the Electoral College. At that time, the liberals tried to kill two birds with one stone. They tried to punish Colmer by ousting him from his seniority and committee positions. More important, they made a major effort to unblock the House Rules Committee by unseating him from it. But when the party caucused, the liberals found themselves lacking the majority for a move which might have revamped the House.

They found that they couldn't count on the big-city delegations, which had bartered away their votes, or on the older Northern Democrats, who were already well up the seniority ladder and didn't want to see the system destroyed. In the meantime, the 110 members of the Southern bloc made it clear that they would vote en masse for Colmer.

If in this key test at the beginning of the first New Frontier Congress—as in other instances—the liberals had turned themselves into a solid voting bloc, their power would have been multiplied many-fold. But the liberals demur, arguing they have no "mandate from the people." They point to their twenty lost seats, and to the fact that the President's margin in 1960 was less than one per cent, as evidence that there is little popular sentiment for reform. (This is not true, of course, for the lost seats were for the most part in marginal districts which had been unexpectedly taken in the landslide Democratic year of 1958. Moreover, liberals in most of the country ran well ahead of Mr. Kennedy.)

But ironically, as soon as the liberals have finished with the "no mandate" excuse, they turn around and cry that Mr. Kennedy isn't using

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his mandate strongly enough. They argue vehemently that during the Progressive era and the New Deal, vigorous Presidents—the two Roosevelts—demanded and got action from Congress. But this too is a liberal excuse for impatience and laziness. For the liberals conveniently ignore the fact that fiery progressives and liberals lighted the way for these two Presidents. When T.R. was in the White House, Sen. Robert LaFollette was sitting on Capitol Hill demanding vigorous action to curb the trusts, control the railroads and create the income tax. With LaFollette and the Progressives out ahead, T.R. could point to these demands as a way of getting conservatives to accept his more cautious program.

Again, when Franklin D. Roosevelt occupied the White House, the liberals were pushing for a 30-hour work week to curb unemployment. The conservatives snapped up F.D.R.'s milder offer of 40 hours.

"But we cannot be ahead of the President," the liberals argue. "In the old days the more radical a man was, the less he had to worry about keeping his seat in Congress." And again the liberals conveniently forget a political fact of life—that the temper of the country does not just "happen." It is made, and it could be made as easily by the liberals in the future as it has been by the conservatives in the past. Sentiment on many issues can be manufactured as easily as it can be assumed.

The Washington Post.

"Ho Hum — It's Sure Dull Around Here."

Indeed, the essence of the liberal failure in the House can be understood by comparing their excuses for inaction with the successes of hard-hitting and diametrically opposed operations on two bills recently before the House—the trade-tariff proposal and the medical-care measure.

The Administration forces knew from the beginning that the trade measure would face its toughest fight in the House, where members are most easily influenced by cotton planters and textile-mill owners, coal miners and oil importers, small pottery manufacturers, bicycle builders, tuna fishermen and others whose livelihoods are directly affected by foreign competition. It was to this area that the Administration delivered its only effective attack of the Congressional years, the exception that demonstrated the rule of mediocre leadership.

BEGINNING last December, it called leaders of such diverse organizations as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AFL-CIO, and the American Farm Bureau Federation to meet with White House personnel. They were exhorted to rise above their immediate interests and look to the future of the nation and the Western world. They were promised an immense harvest of benefits in the future; and for the present they were offered subsidies and retraining programs to soften the local impact of foreign competition. They went away from the meetings convinced, and they spread the word across the land.

Beyond this, the Administration sent spokesmen on speaking tours before local trade associations and individual merchants and manufacturers. After the selling job, they came back and told the Representatives of districts they had visited what the local elites were thinking and doing about the trade bill. Proof that the selling job was a success came to the Congressmen through the pages of their local newspapers. It is not surprising that the bill sailed through the House, by a vote of 298 to 125.

The story of the medical-aid bill is a mirror image of the trade legislation. No Presidential drive for passage of this bill was ever really launched. It was put off in 1961, partly because Mr. Kennedy was concentrating on the aid to education bill, and didn't want to turn the liberal screws on Congress too tightly at the start, and partly because at a mid-April conference with the House and Senate leadership, he was advised that the bill would have a better chance during the 1962 session—an election year in which Congress could be expected to follow its traditional practice of throwing a social-security sop to the voters.

But when 1962 rolled around, the President still sat on his hands. He accepted the view presented to him by the Congressional leadership that he could get either the trade bill or the medical-care bill through the House Ways and Means Committee. It appears now that the strategy adopted around the beginning of the year was to dump the latter bill while attempting to get as much political mileage out of it as possible. The requirement was not *passage* but a roll-call vote, during which Republicans could be expected to go on record against medicare, thereby setting up an important campaign issue.

IN THE meantime, the American Medical Association, smelling a threat to its fees, had begun manufacturing sentiment as soon as the proposal was set forth. It went hat in hand, during the first session, to some of the same powerful bodies that the President used in his campaign for trade. It struck a bald bargain with the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the NAM: support for opposition to federal aid for education, in exchange for support in opposition to medical care under Social Security. It got the American Bar Association to endorse its position. In a single six-month period (Jan.-June, 1961) it spent $140,000 on lobbying — more than any other group in the capital.

And it went ruthlessly after individual Congressmen, using the only variety of patronage it had at hand —campaign funds. It decided that the best place to make a stand was in committee, where only a small number of Congressmen would have to be "influenced," and where it did not run the risk of letting the political combustibility of the issue sway the minds of Representatives

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who might otherwise be counted on to remain in ranks. So it attacked the men sitting on the House Ways and Means Committee who had been expected to vote for the bill. Doctors in home districts freely admitted to reporters that they had raised what one of them termed "substantial" amounts of money for the campaigns. There were reports that two committee members switched votes at about the time they began receiving large campaign contributions from doctors.

The AMA's pressure tactics were so effective that the Administration began to realize there was not only little chance of getting the bill through the House, but little chance of getting it to the floor. So it abruptly switched its attention to the Senate, but there, too, it found the opposition well prepared. When the bill finally came to a vote on the floor, it was defeated by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that left the Administration and the liberals staggering.

The story of these two bills is an effective counter to the liberal argument that a "real demand for social reform" does not exist today, and that therefore it is impossible to get progressive legislation through the Congress. For the tale of the trade bill demonstrates that powerful support can be whipped up where it did not exist before; and the history of the medical-care bill proves that even where popular sentiment is pushing in one direction it is possible through hard work and organization to get Congress to move in the other.

What is really wrong with the liberals is not that they are foolish men, but that they are unwilling to undergo the pain of strict discipline or to undertake the difficult tasks of organization that effective legislative action requires. It is much easier, much less painful, to ride along with the seniority system and the entrenched leadership than it is to defy the organization by setting up a solid voting bloc and demanding a price for cooperation.

In point of fact, the liberals have enough strength in the House—if they could be assured of a bloc vote—to prevent either the conservative Democrats or the Republicans from organizing the body alone. By threatening to withhold their support from the organization, they could force the conservatives to give in on demands for liberal legislation. And they could get significant changes in the seniority system itself, which would put fresh life into many of the stodgy, encrusted strongholds of the diehard Southern leadership.

THE QUESTION is whether they will do it. The answer is that it appears to be possible, but it is unlikely. The possibility comes from the fact that the Democratic Study Group—the closest thing that House liberals have to a caucus of their own—has a new chairman, John Blatnik (D., Minn.) who is talking in terms of substantial reorganization. Already the number of areas into which the group divides the country has been reduced from five to three, and leaders of the research and campaign committees have been made members of the group's executive committee. The group has begun to lay plans for the fall campaign.

But the DSG is a weak amalgam of 100-150 liberals that was founded in September, 1959, to promote liberal legislation, and while it has done a good deal of legislative research, and even a bit of campaigning, it has never made much of an effort to become a hard-nosed political body, intent on passing laws. It does absolutely nothing in the way of manipulating the press, or in playing with patronage and pork barrel to line up votes.

While it conceives of itself as a group of "liberals of a new breed—more interested in performance than publicity, undoctrinaire, hard-headed, schooled and skilled practitioners of the legislative art," it consistently has failed to undertake the very actions that would make this glowing description a reality.

The House liberals, like liberals everywhere, think of themselves as intelligent, sensitive, but highly independent men. "They regard themselves as mavericks," says one liberal leader. "There are so many forces at work on them, such constant interaction between members of the group and between the group and outside forces, and there are dozens of other considerations. It isn't surprising that they don't act as a bloc." Indeed it isn't. But until the liberals think twice about the dismal 87th Congress and do start acting as a bloc, there can be little hope for progress on the New Frontier.

ECONOMICS OF DISARMAMENT . . *by William S. Royce*

COMPARATIVELY few economists in the United States have had either the opportunity or interest to think through the broad question of disarmament and its economic impacts in terms of the real world. Most of those who have considered the question at all take positions at one of two extremes: they do a quick double-take at the thought of an America that is suddenly bereft of all defenses, and rush back to the arms race, or they mentally abolish the defense budget overnight and then become overwhelmed by the $46 billion question: How to replace that huge gap in the gross national product?

These people see either a hopeless defense problem or a hopeless conversion problem. In either case, they forget that neither a "defense" nor a "gross national product" is a single entity. What really would happen throughout the economy in the wake of an approach to disarmament can be known only if one examines the separate reactions and decisions made by a host of persons—individuals,

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corporations and agencies—each of them motivated by differing goals and preferences.

The hasty conclusion that elimination of the defense budget would mean ruin for the "aerospace industry" or the "electronics industry" is wholly unwarranted. It would have great impact, to be sure, on such companies, but the extent of the impact would depend on how well each company had prepared for such an event, what alternatives were available to it, and what other conditions affected its ability to carry out its plans.

Similarly, the impact on any given community would be not just a simple subtraction of defense dollars now poured into it from military contracts, but the complex result of numerous actions taken by the official agencies, business firms, families and individuals that compose it.

THE assumptions that must be made by any person having a planning function related to some future disarmament move are of several types: timing, or the schedule of specific actions; the nature of the world that will exist at various stages along the timetable; the division of responsibilities among government, industry, labor, communities, for coping with specific problems; and the policies to be followed by government regarding various alternatives open to defense industries converting to non-defense activities.

I consider it grossly unrealistic to assume that a transition from the present arms race to a condition of general and complete disarmament (GCD) would take place in as abrupt a span as five years, despite the fact that certain proposals under international negotiation call for such "fast" action. International agreements of so vast and profound a nature simply do not get implemented so quickly. Realistic planning for adjustment to an eventual state of disarmament should be based on a series of transitional steps—stages of arms control—each of which would have its own impact on the economy.

Given three to five years in which to prepare disarmament plans, and a span of five to ten years during which they would be carried out, both public and private agencies should be able to make the necessary adjustments without undue hardship on any major sector of industry or segment of the population.

THIS brings us to some consideration of the nature of a world in which two great power blocs, each totally opposed to the other's socio-economic-political system, may have achieved a negotiated state of disarmament. Very little thought has been given to the subject: most people mentally say "good riddance to the military" and assume we could relax. But is this realistic?

In all their proposals for GCD, the Soviet leaders have never once renounced belief in their destiny to rule the world. On the other hand, they have repeatedly promised to "bury us"—if not militarily, then in the political, economic and social graveyards. Let me recall the official statement of Soviet doctrine on "peaceful coexistence":

> . . . The chief force of aggression and war is U.S. imperialism. . . . The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle . . . [it] is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Clearly, even in the event of a retreat from the arms race, we must anticipate continued Soviet-Allied confrontation across other segments of the spectrum of conflict. There is grave question whether the American people have yet faced up to this fact and to its inevitable consequences. We seem always more ready to spend money for weapons and uniforms than for less forceful ways of resolving conflict. In the fifteen years since World War II we have spent, with little hesitation, more than $450 billion on military forces. (This investment can be evaluated either way: that it deterred the Soviet bloc from launching a world-wide aggression or that it failed to bring us peace.) During this same period, we have spent about 10 per cent of that amount on the non-military foreign aid and information programs—and the expenditure of nearly every dollar has been contested.

Can it be some mark of heritage that we are more willing and able to fight with our fists than with our brains, with military force than with friendly persuasion? The Communists have made it quite clear that, if we are to forswear the use of arms and still prevent them from taking over the world, we will have to change our attitudes rapidly and commit substantial investments in ideas, money, manpower and resources to the battle on the economic, social and political fronts.

Now there are two economic questions involved in this. The first is the extent to which a condition of GCD actually enables us to reduce the defense budget. The second is what compensating expenditures will be required to enable us to win the conflict on the non-military front.

Even the most far-reaching proposals for disarmament make provision for retention by each country of forces for maintaining internal order and for contributing to an international peace force. Implementation of any secure disarmament agreement would also require establishment of sophisticated and expensive systems for insurance against cheating.

The Bureau of the Budget estimated in 1960 that the effect of GCD ten years after adoption of the plan then proposed by the United States at Geneva would be to reduce major national defense expenditures by $30 billion per year from the levels that would obtain if the arms race continued. If agreement were reached today, the amount of reduction would come to about 4 per cent of the gross national product estimated for the year 1970 (this does not account for displacement of the multiplier effect attributed to defense spending). The defense budget then might be between $20 and $25 billion per year, instead of between $50 and $60 billion if the arms race continues. And we know already that this timetable cannot be kept.

AS I have indicated, it is most unlikely that any agreement on general disarmament can be implemented fully in as short a span as five years. During much of that period, while procurement of arms was tapering off, military spending would be gradually replaced by expenditures for inspection and communications sys-

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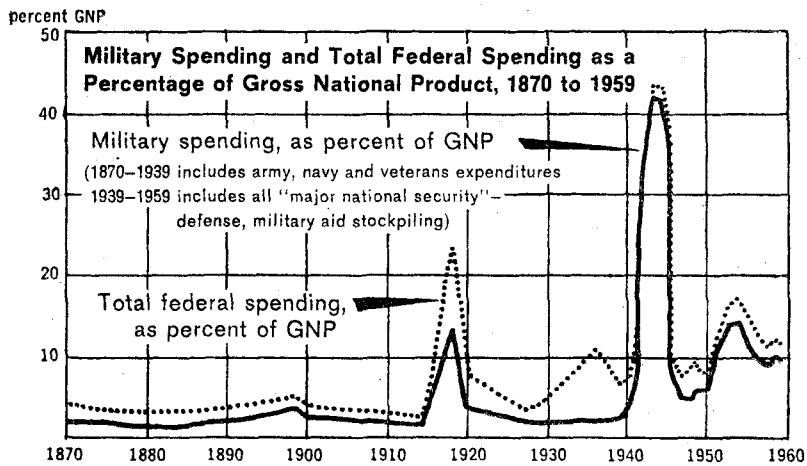
tems to monitor the process of demobilization of forces and destruction of weapons. The equipment to assure conformance with a nuclear-test ban alone would cost between $20 and $25 billion, spread over three to five years (one estimate on the cost of enforcing a ban on orbital bombers runs to about $15 billion). Enforcement of a ban on production of nuclear weapons probably would cost more than the $2 billion annually we have been spending on production of nuclear warheads. I have, as yet, seen no estimate on the costs of an over-all international inspection system that might be set up to prevent cheating on a general disarmament agreement.

Of perhaps greater significance to the economy, but more difficult to predict, would be the changes in allocation of the remaining defense expenditures. Presumably, the procurement of nuclear-missile weaponry would be ended, as would the deployment of long-range air and naval strike forces. But much of the industrial capacity now devoted to producing these items might be diverted to satellite monitors and electronic-detection systems. Heavier dependence on militia and international police forces would possibly mean a larger share of total defense expenditures for pay and support of ground forces, reversing the trend since World War II. These are only a few of the many possibilities, but they indicate the kinds of information that industry and communities must have if they are to prepare for adjustments to a GCD situation.

Beyond this, we need better planning guidance on the efforts required to carry on the non-military aspects of the struggle against communism and the specific contribution that can be made by various industries, communities and classes of people in the country. To most Americans, foreign aid has been nebulous and remote. Before it can mean anything to most citizens, the Alliance for Progress, for example, must become a program in which individual Americans can feel they have a personal stake—through participation in activities like the Peace Corps, through business relationships with their counterparts in newly developing countries, by realizing that some



portion of what they produce (other than taxes) has a direct influence in demonstrating to people in other lands the advantages of our system.

There is a real need for study of means whereby we can not merely match the Communists in appealing to others, but can seize the initiative with programs of peaceful development that will be of lasting benefit both to them and to ourselves.

IT IS HEARTENING to see that President Kennedy has included the functions of planning for economic and social adjustment to disarmament among responsibilities assigned to the new United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. It may be noted that the National Security Act of 1947, which set up our present mobilization-planning agencies, gave these agencies authority to plan only for war, not for conversion to peace.

Neither corporations nor communities can do much realistic planning toward economic adjustment to disarmament until the federal government provides them with some reasonable guide lines on a number of vital questions. These include such problems as alternative rates of curtailment of specific arms programs; probable rates of government procurement of civilian products similar to those used in defense (communications satellites and related electronics, for example); provisions for conversion of government-financed war plants and machine tools to non-defense production; government attitudes on encouraging major private investment in and patent protection for new industries growing out of defense-supported research; and the possible priorities for instituting new government public-works programs.

One problem of considerable importance is how to reallocate the $30 billion or so that may ultimately be saved in the annual federal budget. Three alternatives, or combinations of them, are open: reduce the national debt, reduce taxes, or increase expenditures on social welfare and economic development programs. It is not possible to go into this question here in detail, but the potential for controversy is obvious. A partial answer has already been given by the decision to press forward with the national space exploration program. Expenditures in this category will be nearly $3 billion in fiscal 1963 and may reach $10 billion per year by 1970. These could rapidly replace much of the military business of the missile-electronics and related industries.

OF PERHAPS greatest concern to the industrial planner trying to set strategy for a period in which defense contracts would no longer be available is the question of the government attitudes toward "monopolies." There are firms today with the capital and the desire to diversify outside of military business that have difficulty selecting investments they would be allowed to make. An example is the current situation in which American Telephone and Telegraph finds itself. The Justice Department has disclosed its consideration of a plan to force AT&T to get rid of its overseas communications network. At the same time, other government agencies are playing a major role in

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AT&T's plans to get into outer space communications.

Perhaps it is time we review our whole attitude on the antitrust question and start developing positive federal policies to encourage the growth of competing companies, instead of merely negative efforts to hamstring firms that are already successful. In a related direction, maybe we should concern ourselves less with an arbitrary estimate of a desirable total tax bite and more with the effect of specific tax rates on the ability of young corporations to blossom into healthy competitors.

Finally, the defense agencies have the problem of preparing adequately for the curtailment of their own operations—the reduction of military forces and return of their members to civilian life; shut-down of bases, depots and arsenals; and the redirection, hopefully, of many of their resources to constructive, peaceful efforts to strengthen the Free World in a continuing struggle. None of these tasks would be simple; the manner in which they are performed will have great impact on the country, on local economics and on our international relations.

Military procurement at present accounts for about 10 per cent of the nation's total output, and production for the military has grown at about twice the rate of growth of the economy as a whole. Moreover, studies by the Stanford Research Institute have indicated that a large proportion of the "growth" companies in the United States during the past twenty years have concentrated heavily on defense products, while companies primarily dependent on consumer goods have experienced much slower average growth.

But these studies also indicated there is more than mere coincidence here. The "growth" companies were also characterized by organized research and long-range planning efforts, proven competitive ability and the courage and aggressiveness to take risks in new ventures. Under changing conditions resulting from the transition through arms control to disarmament, most of these companies can be expected to take the conversion in stride, provided they have assurance of a generally prosperous economic climate and are given adequate advance data on which to base orderly planning.

There are other firms that are less capable of meeting the challenge. These are mostly small and medium-sized firms specializing in narrow product lines. They will need more guidance to help them reduce their vulnerability to sudden changes in the nature of military requirements, since they lack the flexibility of plant, capital and management to switch rapidly to other products.

MANY of the adjustment problems resulting from disarmament are likely to be related to workers rather than corporations. In an age of specialization and security-seeking, workers have become much less versatile and less mobile than companies. "Retraining" seems an obvious answer. But retraining for what? By what techniques and in what type of institutions? Under what auspices? The proposed retraining program, now before Congress, will have to meet these questions.

For many years, our major effort in industrial research and technology has been in the direction of "labor-saving." Perhaps it is time to mount a counter-effort toward "labor intensive" — not by outmoded means of featherbedding, but by stimulating development of economic activities that would result in useful work at competitive prices.

Industrial firms are not likely to finance the research and development necessary to this end. But labor organizations should do so. There is an urgent need for identification of functions that will be in demand a decade from now, and for the application of new techniques for educating and training workers to be ready for them. Government and business both must help, but this seems a fertile field for a new brand of labor statesmanship. [See "Labor's Ebbing Strength" by George Kirstein; and "Leisure in an Automated World" by Georges Friedmann, *The Nation*, September 1.]

Stockton (Calif.) Record: Ben Roth
Not as Dark as It Looks

BY THE very nature of present programs for employment security, vocational retraining, urban renewal and housing, highway and other public-works construction, the major responsibility for planning and executing measures of direct benefit to those affected by shutdown of defense facilities falls first on city and state officials. Federal activities are mostly in the form of national planning and guidance and the furnishing of financial support to state-administered programs.

It would seem, then, that a very real need exists for development of a much better understanding of the whole range of possibilities both at the federal level and, through federal guidance, at state and local levels. State and local officers need to begin thinking also about how their areas and people would be affected by various actions the federal government might take. For instance, actions to increase economic opportunities in Eastern depressed areas may help to slow down migration to the West Coast and ease the conversion unemployment problem in Los Angeles.

But such things take time; we cannot wait to start until military spending is cut off.

The American economy has already made at least four major adjustments since World War II approaching or exceeding the magnitude that would be required following a possible GCD agreement. First was the reconversion of 1946 and the tremendous surge to satisfy pent-up consumer demands while accommodating the mass migration of servicemen, war workers and their families to new homes throughout the country. The television revolution came next, with impacts — many of them adverse — on a host of other

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industries. We hardly recovered from these before the Korean build-up sent us back to a new defense effort, much of it patterned along World War II lines. Just about the time this was completed, our whole defense system made the massive switch from surface carriers and human-aimed explosives to nuclear-electronic-missile weaponry. Coincident with these changes came the pervasive movement toward automation and the geographic relocation of several major industries.

These adjustments have not been simple and we are still living with some of the residual problems in the form of depressed areas, chronic unemployment among certain classes of workers, comparative stagnation of some industries and a complex host of problems at the metropolitan levels of government. Nevertheless, we have made these adjustments within the framework of a dynamic, regulated-enterprise economy and, compared to what people in other parts of the world have gone through during the same period, the worst hardships were hardly more than inconveniences.

A REREADING of Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* should be in order whenever people start to list the things that should be done to take up the slack left by cutting off defense spending. The problem is not so much one of listing new peacetime spending programs that could total the same federal budget as before. It is more one of political economics and behavioral science — how do we manage it so that the mechanisms to meet the real needs of the people can be geared up to the already fantastic capacity of our production machine?

What this all adds up to is a plea for recognition of the fact that conversion problems are complex, that they are as much political as economic, and that the federal government does not now have the capability or even the organization to make plans or to carry them out or even to guide others on how to plan for disarmament. There is still time in which to do a proper job of research and planning before we run into the "danger" of a real disarmament situation. The challenge is before us to begin now examining the alternatives and to be ready with acceptable solutions when, as I hope, the time does come.

DEFEAT ON THE GREAT LAKES . . *Leo J. Hertzel*

IN THE second week of August, the mine at Montreal, Wisconsin, largest underground iron-ore mine in the Lake Superior area, ceased operation. Six hundred men were put out of work. No effort will be made to prevent flooding in the mine, since it is considered permanently closed. The Montreal mine was opened in 1886 and has provided United States furnaces with more than a million tons of ore each year since then. Mining officials say that at least several million tons of rich ore still remain in the mine.

Sounding something like a harassed Ayn Rand executive, E. W. Sloan, president of the corporation that operated the mine, commented on its closing:

> It is with the greatest reluctance that we are forced to this decision. This mine and its employees have been outstanding performers for the iron and steel industry and for the nation over almost three-quarters of a century, including two great world conflicts . . . [but] a thorough testing of the markets and our research efforts have convinced us that the future is hopeless.

A few days after the closing of the Montreal mine, the Peterson mine in Bessemer, Wisconsin, announced it would lay off eighty employees and close down one shift. About the same time, the American Iron Ore Institute announced that foreign ore imports in 1962 were up more than 60 per cent above last year. As the foreign ore imports continue to rise year after year, the once-vigorous Lake Superior ore fields are worked less and less.

Along with the cutbacks in production and the closing of mines comes the rapid decline of the United States Great Lakes ore fleets. The ships that were the critical link between mines and furnaces during two world wars are now fast being retired and cut up for scrap. Meantime, the Canadian fleet on the lakes grows rapidly, and present signs indicate that it will eventually control Great Lakes shipping.

Behind the curtailment of mining, the decline of the American fleet, and the rise of the Canadian fleet is a complicated political-economic situation made further difficult by certain technical advancements in the making of steel.

FOR MANY YEARS, United States ore boats have carried iron ore mined in the rich Lake Superior area from "upper lake" ports like Superior, Duluth, Two Harbors and Ashland to "lower lake" ports like Detroit, Toledo and South Chicago. Blast furnaces at the lower lake ports, conveniently located near both coal and limestone deposits, turned the ore into pig iron and eventually steel. Upper lake ports have sent down an average of 58 million tons of ore a year for the past fifty years; in 1953 the tonnage reached an incredible 95.5 million tons.

With almost no variation in fifty years, the quality of the ore shipped from the Lake Superior mines has been 52 per cent natural iron.

Almost every pound of this ore was shipped on the Great Lakes in United States vessels that were built in United States shipyards and manned by United States crews. The

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earliest act regulating commerce in our history, passed in 1789, restricts all domestic trade by water between the states to vessels of United States registry built and owned by citizens. Thus the Lake Superior ore deposits made jobs for American sailors as well as miners and the shipyard workers who built the long, maneuverable ore boats that came to be a trademark of the Great Lakes.

But during the late years of World War II, signs of a decline in the American fleet began to appear. In the first place, a concern for the future of our ore supplies caused American corporations, often with federal financial aid, to seek sources outside this country that could supply raw ore. It was said that the Great Mesabi was not inexhaustible. Enormous deposits of high-quality ore were soon uncovered in Canada, Chile, Venezuela, Africa and other spots throughout the world.

TODAY, these foreign sources of ore are beginning to produce at a high level. Venezuelan and Canadian deposits have begun to produce at particularly high rates. In 1957, for example, imports of ore from Venezuela totaled 12 million tons; by 1960 they totaled almost 15 million tons. The rate increases yearly. Canada shipped about 11 million tons in 1960.

Along with the increase of foreign ore to American furnaces came a demand for ore of a higher iron concentration than the 52 per cent traditionally maintained by the Lake Superior suppliers. Improved refining techniques called for a richer blend, and the foreign deposits, particularly those in Canada, Venezuela and Chile, could deliver it with ease.

To complicate matters still further, the Lake Superior ore delivered at lower lake ports was expensive, because it had by law to travel in ships built and manned by American labor. But ore from Canada, Chile or elsewhere could move in foreign bottoms.

When the St. Lawrence Seaway opened the Great Lakes ports to foreign shipping, when Canadian ore deposits began producing at a high rate, and when South American shipments began arriving at the furnaces in ever-increasing quantities (often via barge shipment on the rivers), the competition began to take its toll of the Lake Superior mining vigor and the United States fleet on the lakes. Upper lake ore shipments to United States mills declined from 80 per cent of the total used in 1954 to 54 per cent in 1958 to 47 per cent in 1959. With yearly fluctuations, the percentage continues to drop.

In the early 1950s, American fleet owners began scrapping their less economical vessels. According to the Lake Carriers Association, the American fleet tonnage declined 20 per cent between 1945 and 1961. The number of American vessels actually sailing, however, was reduced even more sharply, since the smallest vessels were dropped first. One industry survey shows that the number of U.S. lake vessels actually sailing fell from 330 in 1955 to 186 in 1962.

At least ten United States lake fleets have gone out of business altogether since 1955. No new United States vessels are now under construction, nor are any planned. At a time when larger hulls are the only economical means of transporting ore, when naval architects talk only of super super carriers, the American fleet on the lakes is composed chiefly of old, small, inefficient vessels. This year a Canadian shipping official observed, "The simple fact is that, from a shipping cost point of view, all but a handful of the U.S. lake fleet is today as obsolescent as are the Canadian canallers."

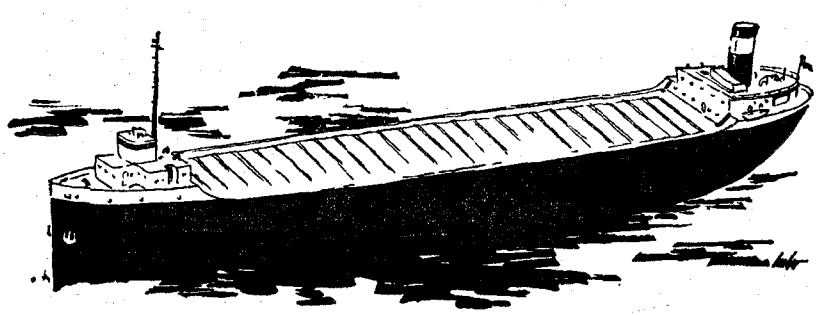
The effects of this decline in domestic ore mining and shipping have been severe in states bordering Lake Superior. Unemployment is widespread among miners, railroad men, sailors, shipyard workers and all of the service trades that relied on ore and its transportation for economic health. For example, some lake vessels this year sail with four licensed captains aboard. The captain oldest in seniority is master of the vessel; the remaining "bump-back" captains serve as mates.

Two years ago John S. Wilbur, vice president of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron company, summed up the situation, "It looks as though Lake Superior mines producing standard ore may be used as a safety valve with rather low rates of production until a real big year or some emergency comes along. . . ."

ON THE other side of the lakes, the Canadian fleet grows rapidly. Between 1945 and 1961 it expanded 80 per cent in numbers and 194 per cent in carrying capacity. At this rate of growth the Canadian fleet will soon surpass the United States fleet.

The monthly cost of operating a 20,000 to 25,000 ton Canadian ore carrier is about $54,000; cost of operating a similar United States vessel is about $78,000. Labor accounts for a substantial part of the difference. Pay for U.S. crews averages about $8,000 per man, with captains drawing as high as $20,000.

Another factor accelerating the growth of the Canadian fleet is the support it has received from the Canadian Government. Seemingly aware that Canada could now dominate lake commerce, the Canadian Government announced in May of 1961 an assistance program for Dominion shipbuilders. It provides subsidies for 40 per cent of construction costs of vessels built or contracted for up to March 31, 1963, and 35 per cent thereafter. In effect, the subsidy means that a Canadian ore carrier can be constructed at a cost to its owner of about $188 per carrying ton, as compared to a cost of about $340 per carrying ton for a U.S. owner. Total cost of a 25,000 ton Canadian carrier is now about $4.7 million as compared to $8.5 million for a carrier of like capacity built in the States. In addition to the sub-



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sidy, the Canadian Government's liberal policy on depreciation for tax purposes has done much to stimulate the growth of the fleet.

In view of all this, it is clear why the Lake Carriers Association, in a report to the Secretary of Commerce last year, observed:

> While not a single Great Lakes vessel is under construction or conversion for a U.S. owner, Canadian owners have six ships with a combined trip capacity of 152,000 tons under construction or conversion. . . . American flag operators have witnessed their Canadian counterparts grow in stature until newly constructed Canadian vessels now dominate the trade in bulk commodities between United States and Canada.

ALTHOUGH the demand for a higher grade ore than that mined in the Mesabi is a large factor in the general picture of decline, many Great Lakes management and union officials believe that much could be salvaged for the American ore economy on the lakes if the United States fleet could compete successfully with Canadian operators. At worst, United States vessels could vie with Canadians in the transportation of Canadian ore to U.S. furnaces.

The Lake Carrier Association last year appealed to the Secretary of Commerce for a four-part program that would assist in modernizing the American fleet, a program that would in some way duplicate the advantages now enjoyed by Canadian shippers. In addition to asking for construction subsidies, the Lake Carriers asked for a faster tax write-off schedule for vessels, the authority to trade in obsolete ships to the United States Government for credit on the cost of building new ones (now done in the case of subsidized ocean shipping lines, with the requirement that the new vessels be built in U.S. yards) and authority to deposit earnings before taxes in a special construction fund.

The appeal was transmitted in part to Congress by Wisconsin's Republican Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski who introduced legislation that would provide construction for the lake vessels. In what was an almost unique case of cooperation, the bill was supported by the seamens' union as well as the ship owners. Fred Neubauer, president of the Lake Sailors Union, observed in the union newspaper: "We have no quarrel with our brothers in the Canadian Labor Movement. We are sure that they recognize that Canadian Lake shipping has certain advantages not now shared by American fleets. We in the United States feel justified in seeking similar advantages."

THE Department of Commerce did not look with enthusiasm on O'Konski's bill and early in July recommended that Congress not pass it. O'Konski then issued a statement accusing the department of "strangling" the Great Lakes shipping industry and said: "Unless our nation's leaders wake up, it will be the end of U.S. shipping on the Great Lakes with additional thousands of unemployed because of foreign competition." But O'Konski's statement, like his bill, received scant attention. The bill is now considered dead.

In the meantime, some United States shippers began laying up their vessels in July this year instead of the usual November. A federal food-stamp program on the Iron Range feeds people who once earned their keep by mining and shipping ore.

Hard facts indicate a continued growth of Canadian activity and a decline of United States importance on the Great Lakes. The vigor and the strength seem to lie to the North.

FEAR IN A SMALL TOWN

The EDITOR vs. the SHERIFF . . *by Gene Wirges*

THIS is a story of what fear does to a community. More important, it's a story of what a community can do when it begins to rid itself of that fear. In this case the community is Morrilton, Conway County, Arkansas.

The "story" has been simmering in Morrilton for years, even decades. It began to boil in 1961 and promises to explode in 1962. Part of the showdown came in the July Democratic primaries; more of the same seems a certainty in the November general election.

Politics has played a major role in the history of Conway County, but you could hardly call it political action. Old-timers here say there has "always been a machine." The present version is operated by Sheriff and Collector Marlin Hawkins, twenty-two years in the courthouse. Some counties in Arkansas have two factions of the Democratic Party; some even have a few Republicans to contend with at election time. Not so in Conway County: just one party (Democratic), just one faction, just one machine. The effect has been stifling. Every time the census is taken, fewer people are found to be living here. Industry seems disinclined to move in. There's nothing wrong with the general area: a town just east of Morrilton has nearly tripled in size in the last twenty years; one to the west has doubled. Morrilton lingers on.

I CAME into this story five years ago when I bought the weekly *Morrilton Democrat* and the weekly *Perry County News*. The papers are in adjoining counties of Central Arkansas. As a newcomer, and as an editor and publisher, I tried to meet

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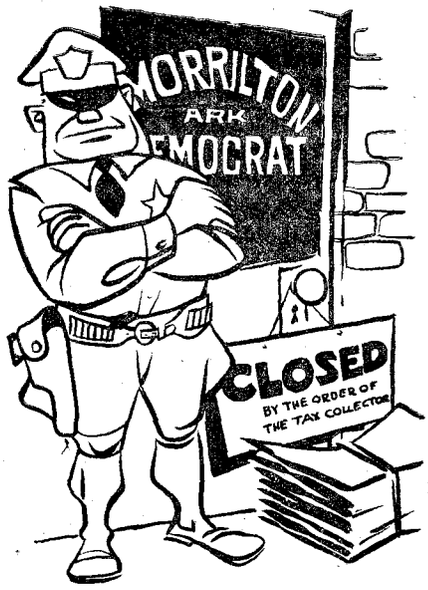

as many people as possible and to learn as much as I could about my new home. My inquiries included the local political situation — and the local elections. An old-timer cocked a knowing eye at me: "Son, we don't have elections here — we have selections."

At the start, I kept controversy out of the papers. I was determined to master the background before I editorialized on any critical subject. But by the time the first election had rolled by I began to get the idea. *There were no races, no opposition, for any county positions.* This seemed strange; stranger still was the fact that no one said anything about it.

Another year went by, during which politics was not discussed by me or anyone else. Then one day a group of citizens — mostly farmers — from the northwest corner of the county came to my office. Their school district, Wonderview, was in terrible shape. Lunchroom funds were being misused; school buses were owned and operated by members of the school board; teachers taught nine months and were paid for seven; money collected for class rings and class trips simply disappeared. And the district was "broke." The group asked me to help them get school affairs back to normal. A school recall election was planned, with the three board members who were identified with the political ring as targets. In a rather cautious way, I supported their effort. The opposition paper printed the "other side," explaining that upkeep on the buses was simply tremendous and suggesting that the present setup was a happy one. I was rumored to be a "radical," if not a "Communist"; someone began covering the school district with handbills and there were threats that "even if you people had enough votes, we'd steal it from you — so why fight us." People on welfare were convinced they'd lose their meager checks if they voted wrong; people on state and county jobs also saw the handwriting on the wall; and the fear spread to relatives and friends — or almost everybody.

BUT AN aroused citizenry is a sight to behold. Leaders for the recall demanded and received the right to watch at most polling places, and this was a major victory. Previously, only the political ring had been allowed to station themselves inside polling places, with predictable results. But this time one election official actually sat on top of a ballot box to prevent stuffing after polls had closed. The three board members were recalled by a very slim fifteen votes of the several hundred cast. A couple of weeks later, a special district election was held to name three new members to the board. Leaders of the clean-up movement put up three candidates; so did the political ring. This time, however, the atmosphere was different. People in the district had learned the political bosses were not unbeatable, and the reform candidates were elected by a vote of about 3-to-1.

Not unbeatable, but yet not exactly beaten. Still another election came along shortly thereafter. The Morrilton School District sought an 11-mill increase to cover rising operating costs and to begin a building fund for a new high school. The politicians, now alert, lined up solidly against the millage hike and everyone seemed to be almost automatically against it. This puzzled me because the need was obvious and great. I appealed editorially for support of the increase, and I received several score of telephone calls from people telling me to "mind my own business." I had thought I was doing exactly that. The 11-mill rise was defeated 2-to-1.

Then in 1961 some leading citizens of Morrilton decided to ask for a change to the city-manager form of government. The existing mayor-council system had been unable to provide adequate streets; a sewer system twice rejected by the voters had been imposed by the council; money to build the sewer system was borrowed eighteen months too early and the city lost nearly $20,000 in interest. On top of that, the sewer didn't work when it was finished.

Having watched the mayor-council system in this kind of action, I threw my support behind the city-manager campaign — and ran head-on into our recognized political boss: Sheriff and Collector Hawkins. The sheriff-collector bought an ad in my newspaper to say he found it necessary to fight the city-manager plan because it was really designed to oust him from office.

During the campaign I attacked political hoodlums, corruption, etc.; the atmosphere became so warm that some citizens sent their families out of town for election day, and state troopers were called in from other counties to insure the peace.

At about 4:30 on election afternoon — two hours before the polls closed — I joined Hawkins and two city-manager workers in an automobile near Ward 3's polling place. Hawkins predicted the outcome of the election, ward by ward, box by box. I asked how he could be so sure, and he said: "I know these people. I can watch them go in and know how they're going to vote." His analysis was fantastic — within a few votes in every box. The city-manager proposal was defeated 1,300 to 800.

I WENT to the courthouse that evening to get the official vote tally. As the outcome became crystal clear, the remnants of the city-manager movement retired to their homes to mourn in private. I stayed for the final boxes to be tabulated, in order to publish a complete account. There were perhaps 150 courthouse officials, political cronies, deputies and troopers on hand. I waited in the county clerk's office and got talking with Hawkins and election commissioners Loid Sadler and Rufus W. Morgan, Jr. We discussed — rather,

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argued — our opposed political theories and the "gang" gathered around to take it in. The discussion continued for about an hour, and was finally ended by the 220-pound tax assessor, W. O. "Bus" Hice, who bolted into the clerk's office, cursing, and charged me. Others stepped in to check him and Hawkins ordered him to "simmer down." When he wouldn't, he was led from the office. A few minutes later, Sadler offered to "knock my head off." He too was led from the office. When I was ready to leave, Hawkins said, "I'd better walk with you." He did, along with a cordon of troopers.

It was by no means for show. In the courthouse hall and outside on the lawn, some of the cronies had formed into a "mob" and awaited my exit. Across the street, several of my employees with press bars and pipe wrenches were waiting to come to my aid. Hawkins and I walked half a block from the courthouse and he said he "couldn't guarantee my safety" if I continued to write about politics. I returned to my office — two blocks away — and two carloads of troopers immediately stationed themselves down the block.

Shortly after midnight, I went home. My wife and I had been asleep only a few minutes when we were awakened by the sound of stones crashing against the house. We hurried to our second-story window in time to see a car speed away.

Next morning, Hawkins called at my office to insist that he couldn't "guarantee my safety" if I continued my political writings. I told him it was a "sorry state of affairs" if my opinion or the opinion of anyone else couldn't be freely expressed.

THREE WEEKS later, there was yet another special election. Governor Faubus was promoting a $60,000,000 bond deal and, locally, there was a county representative's position to be filled. Loid Sadler hastily placed himself beneath the "machine" banner, and a feed dealer, Houston Mallett, opposed him. I backed Mallett, who counted on considerable support north of Morrilton. The politicians said flatly they would "show" us this time, and they did. An election official at Catholic Point predicted that Mallett "won't get three votes in my township." He turned out to be an accurate forecaster: the vote was 93-2 for Sadler and 93-2 for the Faubus bond deal. Across the state, the bond deal was crushed.

Mallett took the outcome at Catholic Point particularly hard, for he thought he had many friends there. A couple of days later, therefore, I drove him and another of his boosters up to Catholic Point. Of the first sixteen persons we talked to, *every one* said he voted for Mallett: fourteen of them signed sworn statements to that effect; almost all of them also said they had voted *against* the bond deal. Next day, another Catholic Point resident told me "at least thirty-five others" had voted for Mallett. It was clear that, having carried Catholic Point, he was allotted only two votes by the officials.

WORD spread rapidly that I had begun an investigation. People began phoning and coming by to tell me it would be better if I dropped the whole thing. On Tuesday, the day before the paper came out, our prosecuting attorney phoned long distance to tell me he "probably would have to file criminal charges against me" soon, explaining it had something to do with a "double mortgage" on my property. I told him to go ahead, that it wasn't so. Answering a direct question, he said the complaint had come from Hawkins. He never filed the charge.

Meanwhile, other people had asked me to look into matters in other townships, and I decided to wait another week before breaking the story. I learned, among other things, that at Austin Township more votes were tabulated than there were people to cast them. With about ten other citizens, I went to our circuit judge with my facts and asked for a grand jury probe. He took it under advisement and I re-scheduled my news story for the following Wednesday. On Tuesday afternoon, however, our chief deputy sheriff came to my office and tacked up a "Notice of Sale" — because of a delinquent employment security tax. The tax was owed, all right, but only three days earlier a field representative of the ESD had come to my office and worked out a satisfactory agreement with my wife, who keeps our books. The whole matter involved only $600 and we paid it off, thus averting the sale.

I questioned an ESD official in Little Rock about this coincidental attempt at foreclosure. He admitted he had "talked to Hawkins" before action was taken. It was becoming clear what Hawkins meant about being unable to protect me.

TWO MONTHS later, the grand jury investigation was ordered, but any hope of a useful result vanished when the list of jurors was released—several of them had served as officials in the elections they were to investigate. I presented scores of irregularities and violations, all documented. One involved an instance of ballot-box stuffing — and my charge included testimony by two creditable eyewitnesses. But the grand jury simply asked "is that all?" when I finished my charges. Then they began to investigate me. They subpoenaed two years of my files and suggested I was guilty of libel in my articles about city and county government. They threatened me with contempt citations when I refused to divulge some sources of information. After several weeks (I was a witness almost every day, sometimes morning and afternoon) the jury handed down its report: irregularities existed, they admitted, but no indictments were returned because they were "customary."

There were no more elections for a while, but I continued my attack on corruption and on what is gen-

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erally known as the courthouse gang. I delved into county audit records in the State Capitol and came up with some startling facts. We had already published figures showing how Hawkins' magistrate court automobile mileage compared with counties of similar size. Equivalent mileage for Logan County in 1959 (for example) was $136.75; in Drew County, it was $104.65. In Conway County, Hawkins claimed an incredible $8,126.60. Then I reported how Hawkins' mileage and car expenses as sheriff had been spiraling. During his tenure in that office, he had collected approximately $81,000 for that item alone.

The following week, we turned our attention to Hawkins' hire of deputies. His wife, Marvine, is seldom seen around the courthouse, yet she has been drawing full-time pay. The records showed Marvine received $3,000 last year, $3,000 the year before that and $4,000 the year before that. The records also showed that Hawkins' nephew, Carl Stobaugh, was on the deputy list — notwithstanding the fact that he serves and draws full-time pay as county welfare director. Again, the facts went to press.

In addition, we filed lawsuits challenging the validity of names in the current County Poll Tax Book. This book purports to show the names of legal, qualified electors in the county. A study of the book, however, yielded nearly 1,000 names of persons who were dead, fictitious, unknown or of persons who long ago had moved to other towns and states. Many persons were also listed in several different townships or wards. The local court dismissed the suits on a technicality, but the cases have gone to the Arkansas Supreme Court.

The "big battle" appeared to be turning strongly our way when a judgment was entered against the *Democrat* for $11,399.90 and Hawkins (the collector) sought to enforce immediate satisfaction. He scheduled sale of the *Democrat* property for July 5.

On Independence Day, however, Dr. Stanley Gutowski in neighboring Perry County stepped in and bought the judgment, thereby saving the paper from auction. I had never met Dr. Gutowski; he told me he wanted to help because he was opposed to "boss rule." He also said he had been in Russia and he didn't think America ought to work like that.

But Sheriff Hawkins was not so easily appeased. Early on the morning of July 5, I called to make certain he knew of Dr. Gutowski's move and that the sale, scheduled for 9 A.M., had been canceled.

Hawkins replied that the sale had not been canceled because "my costs haven't been paid." He said he still didn't know how much they were. It was then 7:20 A.M. and it was not until 8:52 A.M. that Hawkins' attorney (Lt. Gov. Nathan Gordon) notified me the costs were about $528, and demanded a cashier's check in immediate satisfaction. The banks didn't open until 9 A.M., which was when the sale was to open.

I managed to pay the costs (friends in town raised the cash), but I did so under protest, and later I filed suit to recover about four-fifths of the amount. I also filed a suit for $150,000 against Hawkins for "officious intermeddling" in my personal affairs. And I filed a libel suit against the opposition paper which I contend is controlled by the machine. The entire affair has become a legal maze of suits and counter-suits, claims and counter-claims. But that's only the background of the front-line fight.

IN 1962 the Democratic Primary came on July 31. Remember, no county official had been opposed for ten years. By filing deadline, five of the six offices in the county courthouse had opposition. Three more opposition candidates were seeking a State Senate post, and the machine-backed district prosecutor (there are five counties in this district) was opposed by a young Russellville attorney (Jeff Mobley) who attacked the machine with great vigor. Mobley had opposed the prosecutor (Hartje) four years earlier. The machine was in its heydey then and Hartje smothered Mobley in Conway County by about 8-to-1.

The prosecutor's position is a key post and the fight raged all-out for that race. Mobley won the election (in a five-county district) by more than 2,000 votes. In Conway County, Hartje's one-time margin of victory had disappeared and he carried it by only 600 votes. The machine thus sustained its greatest setback.

But the other county positions still remain in the hands of the machine, and the extent of its control is reflected, perhaps, in several court rulings this year. At one point, Chancery Judge Wiley Bean ruled that the qualification of voters could not be challenged in the poll book — that the proper time and place to challenge such qualifications is on election day. He then issued another ruling that no one was to be challenged within fifty feet of any polling precinct. Our polling precincts were roped off and special state troopers were called in on July 31 to back up the judge's orders. Other counties in Arkansas didn't enforce the Bean ruling, even though it was proclaimed as a state-wide edict.

The election of a prosecutor over machine opposition has given rise to new hope for the people of this community. And there's growing belief that another "citizens' slate" will be on the ballot in November.

AS FOR me personally, there's not much more the machine can do. My advertisers have been harassed; likewise my subscribers and country correspondents. My employees have been annoyed and threatened. My suppliers frequently are told how "unstable" my newspapers are. Once I was beaten, often I have been threatened. Phone calls come in the middle of the night, and there's no one on the line. My home has been stoned and, just before the July 31 election, a pop bottle came crashing through the plate-glass window of my office. I have appealed to local courts, the prosecuting attorney, the Attorney General of Arkansas, even to Governor Faubus. Recently I took my pleas and complaints to the FBI, Department of Justice, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Senate Investigator John McClellan. I'm still waiting for help.

It's been going on for a long, long time. And I believe my stand is right. A farmer from the Cleveland community, north of town, put it well when he said the morning after the July 31 election: "Mr. Wirges, don't back up. We have just begun to fight!"

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Figures in the Distance

FENOLLOSA AND HIS CIRCLE: With Other Essays in Biography. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Co. 321 pp. $5.

Hilton Kramer

THE CASE against Van Wyck Brooks has long been stated—and no doubt overstated. That his books have been occasionally disfigured by pastiche and blurred by an excessive optimism is beyond dispute, but one suspects they will continue to be read for some time to come. Whatever quarrels one may have with the five volumes of "Makers and Finders," there is still no other work on the cultural development of America in the nineteenth century that can be compared with it for its range of interests or for the sympathetic detail with which obscure corners of American life are brought to light. Brooks's vision of American culture is surely not the last word on the subject, and his literary method is not likely to be imitated in the future; but his books are very often the best place to begin an acquaintance with their subjects, and they are consistently well written. The harsh attacks made on his work a few years ago did not really pay very close attention to his aims as a writer.

One begins to feel, too, that Brooks's influence has not been sufficiently acknowledged. None of the critics who have written lengthy commentaries on Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* seem to be aware of its debt to the "Makers and Finders" series. No one seems to have noticed that the first inkling of *Patriotic Gore* occurs in Wilson's essay on "Van Wyck Brooks on the Civil War Period," his review of *The Times of Melville and Whitman* in *Classics and Commercials*. Wilson himself has always been generous in his appreciation of Brooks's achievement without being blind to its faults, but by and large, appreciation has not been the rule among sophisticated critics.

This new work is not likely to change that situation. Made up of seven essays in addition to the long title piece, *Fenollosa and His Circle* will be of interest primarily to readers who already admire the "Makers and Finders" books, to which it is in some degree an addendum. The essay on Ernest Fenollosa, for example, concentrates far more attention on his American background and his American colleagues than on the Japanese art objects and literary works that so absorbed, and indeed transformed, Fenollosa's life and sensibility. Brooks has always had an eye for good subjects that have lain neglected by his contemporaries, and in Fenollosa, as with several other figures in the book, he has found a fascinating story to tell. But in the end Fenollosa's real story is only suggested, it is not really given.

Fenollosa was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1853, a member of the Harvard class of 1874 who studied under Charles Eliot Norton. In 1878 he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Tokyo as a lecturer on modern European philosophy, espousing particularly the doctrines of Herbert Spencer. But the man who came to Japan to teach the philosophy of the West found he was much more interested in learning—and ultimately mastering—the culture of the East, especially the visual culture of Japan itself.

Fenollosa arrived there at a difficult and crucial moment in the history of Japan, when the first contacts with Western civilization coincided with the decline of the old medieval order to produce a widespread disparagement of and indifference toward its own artistic past. The keen interest Fenollosa developed in all forms of Japanese art—poetry and the theatre as well as painting, print-making and other visual expressions—exerted a great influence in moving the Japanese to reclaim their aesthetic traditions. His own effort to master the Japanese past thus stimulated a great revival of artistic self-consciousness in Japan, and led to the recovery of important works and forgotten methods. He was later appointed Commissioner of Fine Arts for the Japanese Empire as a recognition of his unique accomplishment — an accomplishment that secured a direct link with the poetry of our own day when Fenollosa's widow turned over all his literary papers to Ezra Pound.

FENOLLOSA was joined in his work by a number of other Harvard figures, and Brooks sketches the details of their adventure with as much sympathy and intelligence as his distance from the principal interest of their lives — the physical and spiritual reality of Japan itself—permits. It is this distance, however, which prevents his account of Fenollosa from being anything more than a sketch. And the same condition obtains in varying degrees in a number of other pieces here. The essays on George Catlin, the painter of the Indians who was written up by Baudelaire and befriended by Louis Philippe; and on John Lloyd Stephens, the archaeologist who explored the Maya ruins of Yucatan after journeys to Russia and the Holy Land, at times attain an extraordinary vividness. But the first is weakened by Brooks's reticence on the visual character of Catlin's paintings, and the latter is hampered by an air of bookishness that is rather at odds with the story it tells. The piece on Charles Godfrey Leland, the eccentric scholar of gypsy life, is also a bit too quaint in a literary way to render its subject in a convincing manner.

Brooks's essays are largely portraits

HILTON KRAMER, formerly editor of Arts *magazine, is now at work on a study of twentieth-century painting and sculpture to be brought out by Doubleday-Anchor.*

The Thud

He cannot ever sleep
but tosses and untucks
himself, and looks out
the curtain at the thin
sleeted trees and stars,
severe continuum,

And hears again a thud,
the softest thud of dog
on bumper, close to him,
along the underneath,
and settling far behind,
humped like a beaded toy,

And cannot understand
how any act that meant
so little to himself,
and out of his control,
blanked the brisk world
for something else alive.

He hunches on the quilt,
drowsy with deadly cold
and perished in himself,
and all the lost outside
glitters with the heave
and withering of frost.

David Lyttle

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of an old-fashioned type. Immensely readable and dealing for the most part with figures whose lives were exotic and whose works were the direct expression of odd interests and daring adventures, the bulk of these pieces trace the contours of their subjects without ever quite bringing to life their complex characters. One would be tempted to call the portraits Sainte-Beuvean if Brooks had not so completely eschewed any suggestion of psychological analysis, for it is always Sainte-Beuve's equally vivid grasp of the psychological and the historical aspects of his material that makes his great biographical studies so memorable. Working for many years in the tapestry-like mode of "Makers and Finders," which makes up in historical richness what it lacks in psychological detail, has not been the best sort of preparation for writing the individual lives of untypical sensibilities. It is only as vignettes designed to take their place in a larger and more copious scheme that they can be said to succeed as literary performances.

The absence of a psychological point of view that can elevate forgotten literary material to a new level of dramatic credibility is especially felt in Brooks's portrait of Fanny Wright, the Scottish woman who tried to establish a utopian colony in Tennessee for the liberation of the slaves. The story of this amazing woman who moved in the world of Jefferson and Lafayette and Mrs. Trollope is told with a documentary earnestness and a historical clarity one can admire. Yet the subject is really too large for so modest an approach. Comparing it with the vivid portraits in *Patriotic Gore,* one sees why Wilson rather than Brooks has become Sainte-Beuve's true successor. Historical portraiture requires a gift for psychological penetration which Brooks long ago abandoned—he once had it in abundance —for a more "objective," and inevitably more distant, literary method.

Encouragement to Murder

88 MEN AND 2 WOMEN. By Clinton T. Duffy with Al Hirshberg. Doubleday & Co. 258 pp. $4.50.

DEATH ROW CHAPLAIN. By Byron E. Eshelman with Frank Riley. Prentice Hall. 252 pp. $4.50.

C. H. Rolph

"I THINK I know as well as anyone alive," says Clinton T. Duffy (drawing on his long years in San Quentin, man and boy), "the horror and senselessness and injustice of what I am fighting against." He watched 150 executions: 60 in eight years as secretary to the Warden, 90 in eleven and a half years as Warden himself. In both jobs he should have been present at many more, but he got out of it whenever he could — and people knew that he was getting out of it.

Why didn't he get out of the whole monstrous thing? How could a man with Duffy's humane and sanguine temperament take part voluntarily in this obscene ritual, and do it seven or eight times a year for twenty years? In particular, if a Warden believes a man to have been wrongly condemned, how can he possibly take part in the killing? The fact that Clinton Duffy and his wife were both born in this vast prison, that their fathers were San Quentin guards, that he knew from early childhood the decent side of thousands of prisoners — these sharpen the question, they do not help to find an answer. But the fact that he did stay so long has given the world one of its most powerful abolitionists.

Much the same is true of the Rev. Byron E. Eshelman, who now joins him as a propagandist powerfully equipped with facts and experience. For Mr. Eshelman has been Chaplain at San Quentin since 1951, has hated the gas chamber as much as Duffy did, and yet is still there now — plainly aware that his job at executions is generally seen as the supplying of a sedative, "a more socially acceptable substitute for the shot of whiskey once given to men about to be executed." Reading both these books as an Englishman accustomed to the veil of secrecy that shrouds capital punishment in England, I am astonished that a serving Chaplain and a former Warden are permitted to make the revelations to be found in them. How firmly the Official Secrets Act gets in the way of public education in Britain — of knowledge to which the public is entitled and which alone can promote essential law reform!

Obviously true and yet almost beyond belief, the case histories in these two books, rarely overlapping, make up an indictment of the death penalty so withering and so circumstantial that the State of California, at least and at last, should now get rid of its ghastly cyanide pellets and show the world that Western courage is not dead and Western intelligence not atrophied. Chessman's case caught the world's imagination because it dragged on for twenty years before they killed him, but Rayna Tom Carmen was in Death Row for ten years, Wesley Robert Wells for seven, and the Negro Henry Thomas was executed after six. Especially disturbing is the story of Barbara Graham, of whose guilt Mr. Eshelman clearly has grave doubts (he finds no fault with the version of it enacted by Susan Hayward in *I Want To Live*). Barbara Graham, as she went into the death room, said: "Good people are always so sure they're right."

BOTH books, written up by journalists (Al Hirshberg for Clinton Duffy, Frank Riley for the Chaplain), reveal a lot about the personalities of their main authors and of how they developed in the prison atmosphere. Unusually revealing is Mr. Duffy's story about his schoolmistress in the San Quentin school, who, as she taught the guards' children their spelling, dramatically counted first the minutes and then the seconds leading up to a hanging (this was before the gas-chamber days) and ended in a screaming frenzy as the victim took the drop. It is a truly horrifying episode and typical (it seems) of a ghastly childhood.

The death penalty, says Clinton Duffy, is condemned by its inconsistency. "Too many factors other than the crime itself are brought into play. No two juries, no two judges, no two prosecuting attorneys, are alike. . . . Money can buy the best of counsel while poverty must settle for what it can get." In California you can also buy time and the purgatory of Death Row, San Quentin. Both these authors knew Caryl Chessman. Mr. Eshelman was with him for ten years and until the last hour of his life — and he tells the astonishing story of how that last manuscript was written and smuggled out of the prison.

It is in these ransomed years that California's death-penalty prisoners are studied, befriended, compared and understood by the penitentiary staff — and it is this inordinate lapse of time that makes the final killing so evil. The story of Harvey Glatman, executed in 1959, is retold here as a testimony to the futility of capital punishment as a "deterrent." But he created an all-time record by getting his death-date brought forward to a mere eight and a half

C. H. ROLPH, former Chief Inspector of the City of London, is the author of Common Sense About Crime and Punishment (*Macmillan*).

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months after sentence. You have to compare this with an exceptional six or seven weeks in England, where the capital offenders are killed off before anyone can get involved with them.

The California experience of public reaction includes one feature unknown in England: the admission of witnesses to the death chamber. It proves that there are always people depraved enough to want to go — more people than can ever be accommodated, despite the offer of fifty-dollar bribes to the gate guards. The law itself requires the presence of twelve jurors and excludes anyone else, but the law hasn't seemed to count for much, and for this we now have the word of a former Warden and the present Chaplain. This throws some doubt on a theory popular among English abolitionists, namely that a resumption of public hangings would hasten the day of reform. If it were likely to do this, I should be for it. But a study of these two remarkable books, appearing with such cumulative effect in the same month, does not bear this out. What the books do suggest is that the death penalty, in any form and any place, brings about more murders than it prevents.

Inside the Problem

THE NEGRO REVOLT. By Louis E. Lomax. Harper & Row. 271 pp. $4.50.
DIARY OF A SIT-IN. By Merrill Proudfoot. University of North Carolina Press. 204 pp. $5.

William Melvin Kelley

IF, on this earth, there is a person who knows nothing at all about America's great domestic problem — that of race — and wants to educate himself, he can plan no better course of study than to read *The Negro Revolt*, by Louis E. Lomax, and *Diary of a Sit-In*, by Merrill Proudfoot. The former is a general study; the latter deals with the representative Knoxville sit-in of 1960.

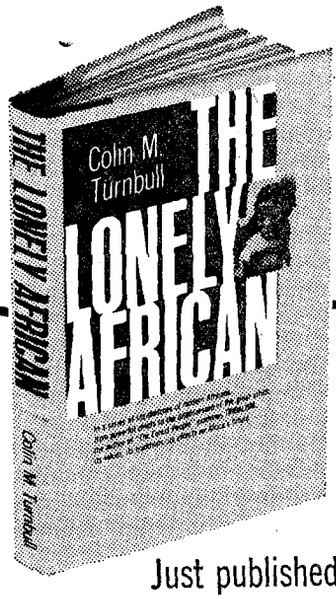
Mr. Lomax has taken 343 years of chaotic and emotion-laden history (Negroes were first herded onto these shores as slaves in 1619), and pounded it into some kind of order. I can only attempt to give an idea of the material covered. His book includes a short but thorough history of race relations in this country from the American Revolution to the present; a sociological and psychological history of the Negro race; some reasons why the current revolt began when it did (Mr. Lomax credits Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Montgomery, Alabama, seamstress, with starting things when, on Dec. 1, 1955, she refused to give up her bus seat to a white man); discussions of the NAACP, the sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the Black Muslims. There is still more, but those are perhaps the major topics.

Mr. Lomax is trained as a journalist, and throughout the book you can see the evidence of that discipline. His work is surprisingly uncluttered with the kind of nonsense that usually mars books on The Problem. But the discipline has not eliminated the author's sensitivity and commitment. By using the first person singular (when relating his own Southern upbringing and experiences as a Negro) and the first person plural (when speaking of the Negro as a whole), he makes you feel that you are talking with an informed, cool-headed Negro who not only holds sound opinions and decent feelings, but also has at his disposal two or three briefcases full of facts and figures. True, the writing occasionally lapses into the woodenness of a *New York Times* feature on the national economy. But he always manages to say what he wants to say — and says it with great clarity.

AT THE time of the Knoxville sit-ins, Dr. Merrill Proudfoot was "a white, bespectacled college professor at the usually conservative age of thirty-six," teaching at a Negro college in that city. The authority of his book grows directly out of his timid personality and his whiteness. Somehow all that happens seems more believable (and some of it is almost incredible) because he is not a fiery-eyed Negro fanatic. He took part in the sit-in almost by mistake, when he promised one of the more militant students that he would be with them if negotiations to integrate store lunch counters did not work out. At the time, it seemed a safe promise; negotiations were going well. But three months later, the negotiations stalled. On Thursday, June 9, 1960, Dr. Proudfoot found himself participating in a sit-in. The *Diary* starts with that Thursday and ends on July 24, when some of the goals of the movement had been won.

One reason, I think, why the moral and spiritual pressure for reform being

WILLIAM MELVIN KELLEY is the author of the novel, A Different Drummer, *recently published by Doubleday.*



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COLIN M. TURNBULL'S
striking and incisive portrait of today's Lonely African

COLIN M. TURNBULL, author of *The Forest People,* examines African tribalism and shows — through a series of individual portraits — the dilemma of the "new" African: the political leader, slum dweller, college graduate, new woman and others caught between a discredited past and an uncertain future. Here, from critics and reviewers, a few of the first tributes to *The Lonely African.*

SANTHA RAMA RAU: "Excellent and penetrating. It is a most rewarding and sympathetic account of individual Africans facing the incredible problems of the white world. Mr. Turnbull's analyses, his view of people, places and societies make, anyway for me, a major step forward in the understanding between races."

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—*N. Y. Times Book Review*

THE LONELY AFRICAN
$4.50. Simon and Schuster

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exerted on the South today is far weaker than it was a hundred years ago is that to most people segregation does not seem as real as slavery. But a reading of this book can cure that fuzziness. Dr. Proudfoot tells of the day "an old tramp came shuffling in, dressed in dirt-encrusted, baggy overalls, with a dirty felt hat crushed down on his forehead. The tramp looked as out of place in this slick store as a donkey in church, but he had that one indispensable qualification — beneath several days' growth of whiskers, his skin, one could still discern, was fundamentally 'white.' The assistant manager [who had been holding a rope between Negroes and the lunch counter] welcomed this man with a special show of hospitality, while all the time casting triumphant glances at us. The logic of our cause could not have been more effectively dramatized."

And again, there is the day when a Negro picketer is carrying a sign: "Khrushchev Could Eat Here — I Can't." One heckler says to him: "Yeah, but Khrushchev ain't a nigger." Several times that same day, Dr. Proudfoot had been accused of being a Communist.

Because of the deep religious conviction of its author, an ordained minister of the United Presbyterian Church, *Diary of a Sit-In* borders on a candy-sweet piety. Happily, the going is not sticky enough to be incapacitating. What emerges, and endures, is the picture of a man who, in spite of himself, had to take part and, much to his own surprise, found bravery in himself. In the process, he saw and set down a moving portrait of the South in the torment of change.

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Death of a Hero

MURDER OR SUICIDE? By Vardis Fisher. Alan Swallow. 288 pp. $4.95.

Jonathan Daniels

THE NEWS did not come rapidly in those days from such a Far West as Tennessee. Much time passed before the young country which had properly made him a national hero knew that Meriwether Lewis had died a violent death at Grinder's Stand on the old dangerous trail called the Natchez Trace. Even today, more than 150 years later, the clear straight story has not come into the history books as to whether Lewis was murdered or committed suicide that October night in 1809.

Thomas Jefferson, who had sent Lewis with William Clark on the great Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific, gave his verdict confidently four years after the death that it was suicide due to inherited "hypochrondriac affections." Others since then have not been so sure and in recent years historical argument has grown about the question, "murder or suicide?" which Vardis Fisher has made the title of this book.

Nowhere at such length and in such detail has the evidence been so arrayed as in this fascinating work of historical detection. Mr. Fisher has not only studied the scene and the documents; he has also studied the characters who were on the scene and those who prepared the documents upon which various historical verdicts have been rendered. On the basis of vast research, he historically cross-examines every witness, including Jefferson who, of course, never visited the death scene. After this thorough and careful search, Mr. Fisher, while aware of the impossibility of absolute certainty, inclines to the view that Lewis was murdered. So do I.

My only fault with the book is that Mr. Fisher did not examine — and probably could not have examined in the scope of his story — all the widening circle of historical questions which spread from the scene of this death in the wilderness. Bigger questions than "murder or suicide?" seem to be involved. On the basis of the evidence, it seems doubtful to me that this was one of those killings for cash on the Natchez Trace for which that trail became notorious.

Of course, it may have been suicide. Perhaps Mr. Jefferson merely reported the facts when he said that he had always known that the man, to whom he entrusted the greatest enterprises, was congenitally maladjusted. Considering his own family, Mr. Jefferson could have been an expert on congenital derangements. Still if Lewis came mentally disturbed to the lonely place where he died, he also came from St. Louis. And St. Louis then was a human wilderness which contained the tracks of Aaron Burr, of the traitor General James Wilkinson, and of the furiously jealous and evidently agitated Frederick Bates, deputy governor under Lewis. Some of the ties between them are still as mysterious as the death of Lewis, whose body was left for years in a grave unprotected from the wolves and the hogs. It is at least possible that Lewis knew too much about matters which even Jefferson preferred be forgotten.

JONATHAN DANIELS, editor of the Raleigh *(N.C.)* News and Observer, *is the author of many histories and biographies. His most recent work is* The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace *(McGraw-Hill).*

A Lullaby, Old Country Style, for the Dancers

Snow in the white doorway
and bells, green bells
And the wind carries your shoes
to its other house
My mother dances in Poland
in white, in love's color
while from the sky are falling
a green ladder, a bear

But dance, dance
or the bells will not hear you
Dance in green shoes
where the wind dances
and God on the oven
trembles
gently, dreaming, and scatters
the snow from your voice
with his love, his hands

Jerome Rothenberg

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THEATRE

Ben Shaktman

ALTHOUGH The Association of Producing Artists was born two and a half years ago as a workshop group that met month after month in the Sullivan Street Playhouse, Greenwich Village, the company was tested on the road, and toured a repertory of classical productions in cities, large and small, this side of the Mississippi, before officially entering New York. In addition, APA established theatrical precedent in the fall and winter of 1960-61 by being the first professional company to go into residence on the campus of a university — at the McCarter Theatre, Princeton University.

Last spring, when the company arrived in New York, hopeful historians smiled wistfully at the impression APA made as potentially another Neighborhood Playhouse, Provincetown Players, Washington Square Players or Group Theatre. The smile was friendly, but the recollection of the fate of those earlier ventures was not calculated to be encouraging. However, there are aspects to APA's organization that make it one of the brightest and most sensible rays of hope in the American theatre today.

First, the company is composed chiefly of established actors, who have been through the mills of Broadway, off-Broadway, summer and winter stock, films and television. At the outset, Ellis Rabb, the company's thirty-two-year-old founder and artistic director, sought proven actors who would join APA, not out of desperation to act, but out of a need to act well in good plays. Mr. Rabb said, "When an actor joined APA he knew his salary would be a great deal smaller than he was presently making on Broadway or television. He would have to go through the small irritations of a touring company and the audiences it found. And he would have to work harder than he had ever worked to bring new plays into our repertory."

Some well-known and successfully established artists took the challenge: Peter Donat, Olive Dunbar, Richard Easton, Joyce Ebert, Will Geer, George Grizzard, Rosemary Harris, David Hooks, Gerry Jedd, Nancy Marchand, Donald Moffat, Christine Pickles, Joanna Roos, Paul Sparer, Frances Sternhagen. These were full-fledged professionals who expected to continue earning their living in the theatre. A few had starred on Broadway. With APA they were offered an average minimum salary of $100 a week, which could climb as high as $200 depending on the touring arrangements. From the start Rabb promised his players no great wealth for their work, but something else.

REPERTORY is APA's second promising characteristic. It is a true "rep" company in the traditional European fashion. A number of productions are prepared and maintained for performance in rotation night after night. Since January, 1960, the company has done fifteen plays in repertory, including six by Shakespeare, *Man and Superman, The Lady's Not for Burning, The Importance of Being Earnest, The Follies of Scapin* and the three which were produced in New York: *The School for Scandal, The Seagull* and *The Tavern.*

That repertory doesn't seem quite the thing to bring to Milwaukee! Case in point: there, APA played to its smallest audience, and lost a bundle of money for the producers of the Fred Miller Theatre. (Except for its appearance in New York, APA has not acted as producer in the usual sense. It has offered its productions to theatre managers or other producers who pay APA a fee and often a percentage to perform at a particular theatre.)

"The Milwaukee experience was a case of bad judgment by the producers, who acted courageously on one hand and in bad business sense on the other," said Robert Alan Gold, APA's general manager. The Milwaukee management told its regular audience to beware, that APA was a high-level entertainment, something they weren't accustomed to receiving. APA was thus alienated in advance from its public.

One of the additional peculiarities of the Milwaukee engagement was the local citizens' severe if silent boycott of *The Seagull.* "The public in Milwaukee was highly suspicious of a Russian play, wouldn't respond when they came, and

BEN SHAKTMAN is a playwright and director who as a Fulbright fellow studied at the Berliner Ensemble, the Comédie Française and the Vienna Staatsoper.

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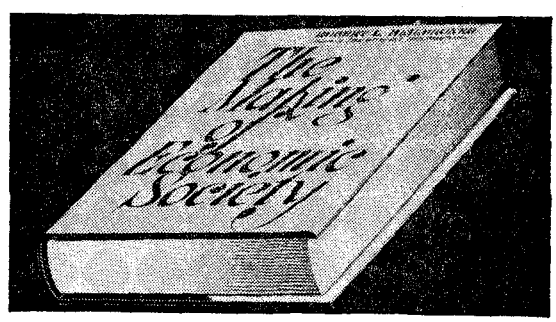

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finally showed their doubts by staying away from the box office," recalled Rabb. This event reveals the point and purpose of the repertory system. Although a particular audience might stay away from a great play, the performers could recognize their work as artistically valid, because it had proved successful when played elsewhere as part of their repertory.

APA's only competition on the road, other than the Broadway road shows that play only the largest cities, is Eva Le Gallienne's National Repertory Theatre, another honorable, if more opulently financed troupe. NRT is in many ways a star company, whereas APA is trying to become a well-knit, well-balanced ensemble.

Despite some unevenness in performances during its New York season, APA's productions showed astute theatrical know-how, and in places, brilliant work. For example, Rosemary Harris' Lady Teazle and David Hooks's Oliver Surface were outstanding in *The School for Scandal*. But their delightful control of Sheridan's mercurial word management, and of the pace it requires, enforced a definite gap between the rest of the ensemble and themselves. However, Mr. Rabb's aggressive, and definitely unfussy, direction unified the production, so that by the last performance the distance between Miss Harris and Mr. Hooks and the others was not great. That is the measure of a hard-working ensemble and one of the artistic rewards of repertory.

New York remained unconvinced. Theatregoers responded meekly to the local critics' unanimous rave for APA's productions at the off-Bowery Folksbienne Playhouse. Business was poor, averaging slightly less than half of capacity. But manager Gold seemed unperturbed that only about 5,000 people saw APA's work in seven weeks (5,000 see any one of the three top Broadway shows in four nights). "The New York appearance more than wiped out our surplus funds, but it was worth every cent."

A FEW DAYS before its New York opening the group had signed a contract with the University of Michigan for a three-year residence at twenty weeks per year, in the 700-seat Lydia Mendelssohn Theatre. As part of Michigan's professional theatre policy, APA felt itself in a relatively weak bargaining position, since the manager of the program made plain his evaluation of the whole venture as risky. After the New York reviews, that attitude changed sharply. Subscriptions for the coming APA-Michigan season jumped to 1,800 with a new high of 3,000 expected; university authorities were being credited with a discovery, and APA itself could move confidently forward in its creative plans to bring new productions, even new plays, into the repertory. Thus, the investment strategy of amortizing the New York season against the Michigan venture paid off.

This position of mobility, the complexity of which would certainly have been alien to earlier "amateurs" such as the Provincetown Players or the Neighborhood Playhouse directors, is APA's happiest business security at the present time. Yet, having been prepared for a financial loss in New York, they by no means take the loss lightly. They already doubt that repertory can ever succeed in New York, and are seriously thinking that their next appearance there might offer the extended presentation of a single production. If this were to happen, APA could be following a dangerous precedent — one that has wrecked earlier outstanding American theatre groups: playing the opponent's game. If APA believes in repertory, and can succeed in creating a solid ensemble over an extended period of employment, it must think more than twice before breaking the pattern that gives it life.

If APA successfully maintains its repertory system at Michigan and later on the road, and then arrives next season in New York to play only one production, it could be in serious conscience trouble. On what terms would the selection of a single production be made? It would probably be based on a conjecture as to what the New York public would buy. Whereas the season recently completed was based upon what the New York public might try.

That difference constitutes the current distinction of APA. It secured the season's best critical reception, and won the active interest of individuals as far-ranging in motives as the director of the Board of Education's Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction, who would recommend APA's shows for every school in New York; a television film company which would film one production for commercial use each season; and a noted producer who has offered to produce APA's next New York appearance. While each of these motives may be different, APA's must remain constant: to produce great plays well, with experienced actors who can respond creatively to the repertory system.

Descort

nine tolls
& light lies heavy on the fields
the end of May

walking the road's edge
darkness is on every side
but at the left

has white
flowers in it blossoming tree
up an alley of trees

bushes Lady
I walk in an enormity every thing
we touch we

make mud
but we'll dry out of it & leave
it full

of our life not its own
We make a road through things
but never pass

outside them
Lady the light goes nowhere
when it goes out

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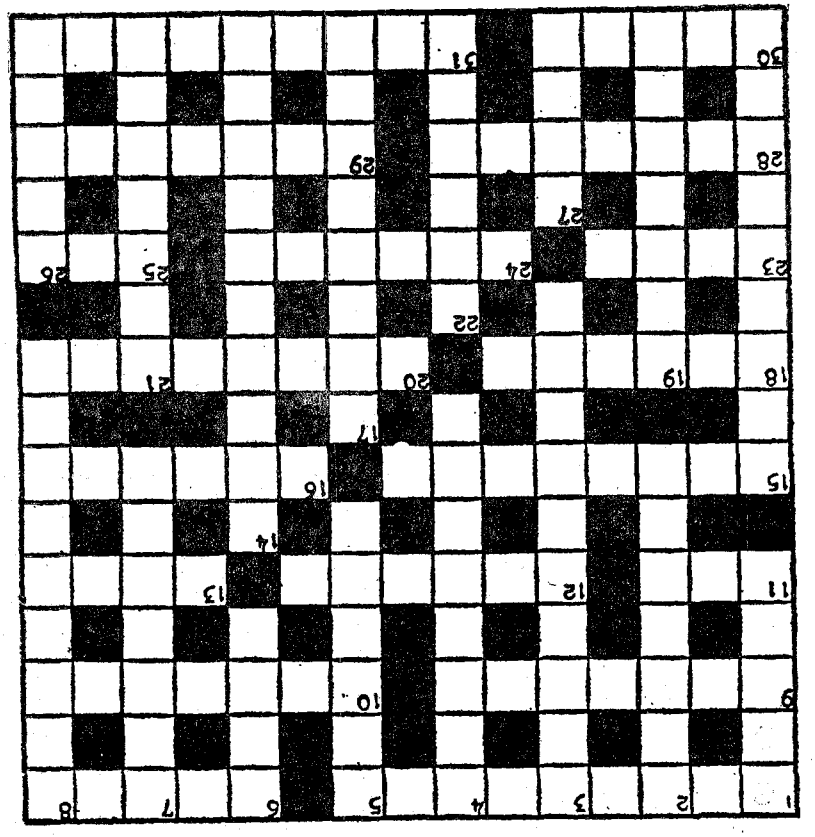
Crossword Puzzle No. 975

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Swell way to make a bow suffice without tea, by the sound of it. (9)
6 and 23 Parry arguments with letters (though a wire might reach one). (5, 4)
9 From whence to speak, or contrariwise, play carelessly. (7)
10 The sort of fuel account, in short, acquired by the boat. (7)
11 and 24 This is enough to make a little fellow speculate like a young genius. (3, 6)
12 Did he occupy the bench during at least one administration? (6)
13 and 6 across Would his merchandise logically go on hot ties? (4, 5)
15 This provides us no loud (but rather bumpy) pattern. (8)
16 Straightforward control. (6)
18 What they might do in the pen before delivery to the plate. (4, 2)
20 A little money, pure and simple, can provide the material. (8)
23 and 5 down Travel with speed, but not on the rink, where you might drop a letter or so. (4, 6)
24 and 26 Beat the German completely and spectacularly. (11)
25 Sort of a clod? (3)
28 Element associated with the rainbow? (7)
29 You may not have pressed your suit properly if you have to ask for one.
30 and 13 Does it usually have a transportation charge? (5, 4)
31 How Eisenhower commanded? (9)

DOWN:

1 This bean is the main product associated with Central and South America and the West Indies. (5)
2 Tried to write like Lamb? (7)
3 Director of a movement in a purely voluntary capacity. (10)
4 Does it make a mouse run quite a lot? (8)
5 and 11 The first term of Sir Joseph Porter? (6, 3)
6 It's cruel to knock down or hide. (4)
7 Wink—some people put it inside.
8 Perhaps this version should be worn by Wave officers. (9)
14 and 30 Was he unsuccessful in the horse trading business? (7, 3, 5)
15 Not the same old lap at last implied, though a good press might focus your attention on it. (9)
17 Greeting a pick-up with it? (8)
19 How to get across in it without an act of the composer? (7)
21 Not really like Cupid — more like water, winds, and waves. (7)
22 Does he have an irregular following? (6)
27 Sort of nice? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 974

ACROSS: 1 Carrier pigeon; 9 Older; 10 Devilfish; 11 Enneads; 12 Nest egg; 13 Ovals; 14 Hailstone; 16 Hit-and-run; 18 Befit; 19 Volcano; 21 Amentia; 22 Secretive; 23 Chews; 24 Extravagantly. DOWN: 1 Close to the vest; 2 Redundant; 3 Inroads; 4 Rides; 5 Invention; 6 Enlists; 7 Naive; 8 The Great Gatsby; 14 Harmonica; 15 Offstreet; 17 Nearest; 18 Breccia; 20 Locke; 21 Arena.

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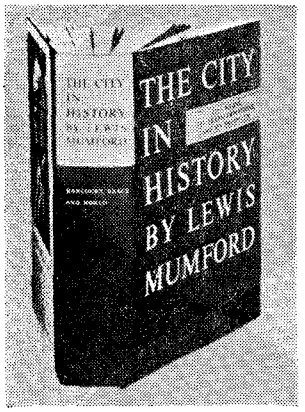

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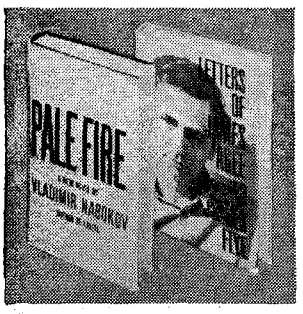

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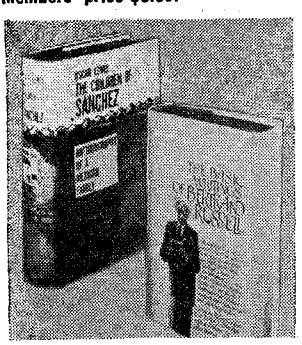

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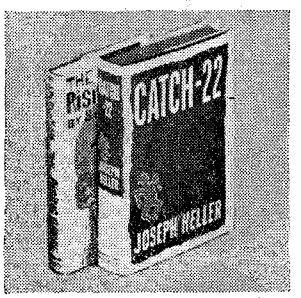

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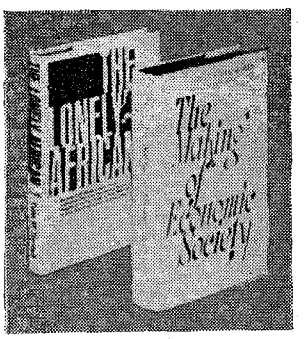

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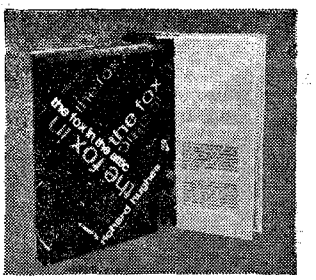

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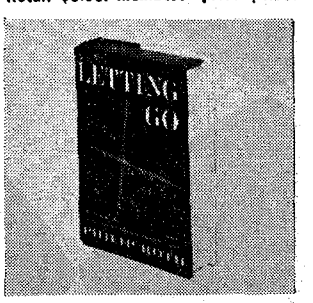

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